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WASHINGTON

H. R. H.

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June 6, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Edmund S. Muskie *ESM*

1. Korea. On Wednesday Ambassador Gleysteen met with General Chon Doo Hwan and, at my request, asked him a number of questions concerning Chon's intentions and plans regarding constitutional reform and the future Korean political process. Chon's answers were evasive on some points and dissembling on some others, but he reveals a growing political interest and even sophistication. Chon is highly unlikely to return to the barracks and is determined to keep Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil out of the political process. While he recognizes the need to put some civilian garments on what is now a basically military regime, the methods he is considering for "legitimizing" the current power arrangements (e.g., holding a constitutional referendum and perhaps even elections with martial law in place) are inherently flawed.

I am convinced that we must focus our efforts in the weeks to come upon these political aims: (1) pressing Chon and his colleagues to provide for some popular participation in the political process; (2) easing the military out of politics (either by putting on mufti or returning to professional tasks); and (3) averting "show trials" of leading Korean politicians. To review the efficacy of these objectives and the best methods of pursuing them, I have asked two members of the East Asian Bureau to visit Seoul next week to consult with Gleysteen. I do not see an imminent need for a PRC meeting, but I will send you a summation memo with policy recommendations prior to our departure for Venice.

2. Iran at the U.N. We are sending for Don McHenry's use in New York a draft Security Council resolution designed to reinforce the ICJ decision. Don has gotten initial positive responses from the Tunisian, Philippine and Zambian

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- 2 -

representatives and will begin to broaden his consultations. We are also working on the British, who were the only Western Council members to express a negative attitude toward the idea. We believe we can bring them on board. Our most difficult task will be to avoid either a Soviet veto or an attempt to amend our resolution by adding unacceptable language, particularly on the rescue operation.

3. Iranian Oil. At our urging, the British have successfully pressured Shell Oil not to buy a shipload of Iranian oil at \$33.50. The British stressed to us that this action posed considerable risk to future Shell possibilities in Iran and that they hope we will try to be helpful to the company, which has few alternative sources of crude oil.

4. Hidalgo Trip. Following up on our discussion at breakfast on Secretary Hidalgo's proposed trip to Latin America, I find that his office has asked State concurrence for his visits to Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. While we believe that the trip is a worthwhile one, I recommend that the Secretary not go to Chile and Argentina at this time. A stop in Chile would, I believe, be inconsistent with our current posture toward Chile because of its failure to take action in the Letelier case. With respect to Argentina, we are currently exploring means to improve our relationship (as you instructed) but I believe the initial step in that effort should be a visit by Bill Bowdler to Buenos Aires next month, to discuss improvements in human rights performance and progress in other areas. I think an Argentina visit by Secretary Hidalgo shortly before Bill's trip would be the wrong sequence.

*Ed. Jim
inclined to
let him
go, but
will wait on
final decision
until after
you & Harold
discuss it*

5. Bolivia. The political situation remains tense and a military overthrow could occur within a few days. The military has reportedly sent emissaries to Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Peru to seek commitments to recognize a new Bolivian regime and provide support as soon as a coup takes place. The restatement of U.S. support for democratic government made by the Department spokesman on Wednesday may have had some salutary delaying effect. The statement has, however, been harshly criticized in the Bolivian press, which today carried a military communique charging the U.S. and Ambassador Weissman with "interference" in Bolivian internal affairs. We are taking extra precautions for the safety of our official personnel during this uncertain period.

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- 3 -

6. South Africa in the Security Council. The Security Council held its second meeting of the present session on South Africa today. Representatives from East Germany, Cuba and the African National Congress spiced their rhetoric with broad criticism of the West for maintaining economic and other relations with Pretoria. The next meeting of the Council is scheduled for Monday.

The Africans have yet to agree on the text of a draft resolution, but a stiffly-worded working paper now circulating in New York may form the basis for a draft. We are concerned that South African anger at a harshly critical resolution could spill over into the Namibia initiative, which has recently made substantial progress. The African delegations in New York are aware of our concerns, but it is not yet clear if the moderates among them will be able to obtain sufficient changes in the working paper to make it acceptable to the West. Don McHenry is working with the Nigerian and other influential African delegates.

7. Cubans in Embassy Addis Ababa. The two Cubans remain at our Embassy in Addis Ababa. The Government of Ethiopia has not yet replied to our June 2 proposal that they interview the Cubans at the UN High Commission for Refugees office and let them leave Ethiopia if found to be refugees. The Foreign Minister reportedly found our proposal unacceptable on first reading, but promised us a written response.

8. Australian Foreign Minister. I hosted a lunch today for Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock (along with Bill Miller, Scoop Jackson, Howard Baker, and Lloyd Cutler). We found ourselves in broad agreement on the Olympics, the Middle East, and particularly the necessity to maintain a united front on the Soviet challenge. Peacock met yesterday with Giscard and passed to me the latter's personal message that we should at Venice consider "means for improving the organization of consultations," particularly outside of NATO. Peacock obviously found Giscard's explanation of why he did not consult us before seeing Brezhnev somewhat implausible. It was clear from Peacock's remarks that the Australian Government fully appreciates our efforts and the necessity for drawing the alliance together.

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- 4 -

9. **Angola.** We have been informed by Luanda Provincial Commissioner Mendes de Carvalho that American citizen George Gause, who had been held in an Angolian prison without charge since mid-1977, was released on June 4. We are seeking to confirm the report but have no reason to doubt its veracity. Carvalho had said during his visit to Washington in April that he would look into the Gause case upon his return to Luanda, and we regard Gause's release as a positive gesture by the Angolan Government. Three other Americans remain in Angolan jails.

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